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The Jaina Contribution to the History of Ancient India

PREM CHAND JAIN

The Jaina community, with its unique cultural heritage has formed from the days of yore an important section of the Indian people, and has been drawing its adherents from all the various races, castes and classes inhabiting the different parts of this ancient country. Naturally, the Jainas have contributed a lot of material which may well be used as valuable sources of Indian history.

These Jaina sources are remarkable for their variety, vastness and chronological sequence. They are spread over the whole range of historical times and are connected with practically every part of the country and with almost every phase of its past history. At the same time they are no less authentic than the contemporary and similar Buddhist or Brahmanic sources.

From the times of the Mauryas onwards right upto the advent of the Muslims, and in some respects, even upto the end of the Muslim period, the Jaina material constitutes a good secondary source and its corroborative value cannot be exaggerated. In some cases as that of Rajasthan and several of the principal states of the Deccan and the South, histories of these regions could be reconstructed chiefly with the help of their respective Jaina sources. And for the pre-historic times, prior to the age of Mahavira and the Buddha, the Jaina traditions should have the same value and importance as the corresponding Brahmanic traditions. Their mutual agreements and differences, if comparatively studied and critically examined, may reveal many a hitherto unknown facts and may push back further the limits of historical times.

Moreover, the ancient Jainas seem to have had a love for dates and exactness which is evident from their numerous pontifical genealogies and dynastic chronologies, the dated colophons of their works and of their successive manuscript copies, the historical and even pre-historical traditions recorded with corresponding dates and periods in later works and from their inscriptional records which reach back to the 5th Century B.C.

It may be mentioned here that for the ancient period of Indian history, apart from archaeology, epigraphy, numismatics and foreigners'

accounts our principal source of information is literature, both secular and religious, produced and preserved by the different sects and religious communities that flourished side by side. And the most important communities to whom we are indebted for these literary sources, are without doubt, the Hindus, the Buddhists and the Jainas. Of these, the Buddhist sources have long been fully studied and explored. The Brahamanic sources have also been exhaustively studied and still engage the attention of scholars. But the Jaina sources have so far been utilized to a small extent. The little and scattered work that has been done on them is, however, enough to indicate their possibilities and to impress their value as a rich source of history.

As a possible source of historical information the known and available Jaina material may be classified as follows :

Historical Literature

(i) *Histories :* Under this head we have first, the dynastic chronologies of India, particularly with reference to Ujjain for the one thousand years or so after the death of Mahavira. These records have been preserved in several works viz., The *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*, Hari Bhadra's *Āvaśyaka-Vṛtti* and *Mahāpurāṇa*, and in a number of later works like *Trilokasāra*, *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, etc.

Secondly, there are several works like *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*, *Kadamba Purāṇa*, *Bhuvanapradīpikā*, *Rājāvalī Kathā*, *Padma Purāṇa*, which deal with the history of important Jaina gurus and laymen in the background of a general history. In this connection, mention may also be made of *Rājāvalī* which is one of the best of mediaeval histories. *Rājāvalī* gives the description of the emperors who had been on the Delhi throne. It also describes the history of the foundation of Delhi. From the time of Anangapal when the city was founded it was called *Dhilli*. There are also a number of historical documents, even political chronologies or dynastic lists relating to later times, like the *Rājavaṁśa Varṇan*, *Nemināth Caritra* by Ajay Raj Patni, which give the names of rulers with important events of their reign.[1]

(ii) *Paṭṭāvalis and Gurvāvalis :* There are works like the *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*, *Adi Purāṇa*, *Jambūdvīpa Prajñapti*, *Dhavalā*, *Jai-Dhavalā*, *Sthavirāvalī*, etc. which contain an account of pontifical succession lists of the Jaina asceties, congregations samghas, Ganas, Gacchas, etc. that developed during the past two thousand years.

[1]Dr. P. C. Jain, *Granth Bhandars in Jaipur and Nagaur*, p. VIII.

Historical Biographies

There are a number of biographical accounts dealing with the life stories of the historical Jaina personalities like Mahavira, Gautama, Jambu, Bhadrabahu, Srenika, Karakandu, Jivandhara, Sudarsana Seth, Kunda Kunda, Pujyapada, Vidyanandi, Akalanka, Haribhadra, Hemacandra, etc.

Colophons

The authors and the copyists of the manuscripts have at times left a description of the cities and towns where these were written or copied as well as the rulers whose patronage they enjoyed. Such colophons or *praśastis* are generally found at the end or the beginning of the works. These constitute our most valuable literary source of history. These are generally of three types, namely, the author's *praśasti*, the copyist's *praśasti* and the donor's *praśasti*.

Sundry References

There are works like the *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*, *Padma Purāṇa*, *Pāṇḍava Purāṇa*, *Jambū Svāmī Cariu*, etc. even if they do not contain a regular colophon often contain sundry references to previous authors or works, particularly relating to their own subject and incidentally even to some important facts about contemporary history. This is particularly true of our logico-philosophical literature which helps in a remarkable way in not only fixing up the chronological sequence of Jaina authors, but also of the important Brahmanic and Buddhist logicians and philosophers of the first millenium of the Christian era.

Story Literature

The story literature of the Jainas is very extensive. The importance and worth of the Jaina story literature has found due recognition at the hands of many Indian as well as European scholars. These also help sometimes to reconstruct history.

Pauranic Literature

The extensive pauranic literature of the Jainas is a fruitful source of ancient Indian historical traditions relating to pre-historic times, and has the same value as the Brahamanic *Purāṇas* and Buddhist *Jātakās*. Besides, being lively narratives, these works contain vivid pictures of the

life and society in its various aspects, as obtained in the times of their respective authors.

Geographical Literature

There are several works like the *Jambū Dvīpa Prajñapti, Trilokasāra, Lokavibhāga, Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, etc. which deal with cosmology from the Jaina theological point of view. In their accounts of Jambu Dvipa and Bharata Ksetra these give an interesting idea about the geographical notions of ancient Indians.

Political Literature

One of the earliest Jaina writers who deal with a significant aspect of political life, was Haribhadra Suri (A.D. 705-775), the author of *Dharmabindu*. In this didactic work he gives a long list of duties of a Jaina layman. One of these was refraining from disrespect to the King.[2] We also find useful discussions of political theories and their application in works like the *Ādi Purāṇa, Harivaṁśa Purāṇa, Dharmaśramabhyudaya, Parśvābhyudaya, Vardhamāna Purāṇa, Candraprabha Caritra, etc.*

Religious, Secular and Scientific Literature

There are several works written by Jaina authors which deal with various subjects pertaining to religion—such as *sidhānta, pūjā, pratiṣṭhā* and *vidhāna* and secular subjects like *purāṇa, kāvya, kathā, caritra*, philosophy and scientific subjects like grammar, prosody, laxicography, *jyotiṣa, āyurveda* and sex, etc. In many cases these works by their references to previous works and authors on the subject help in reconstructing the histories of development of these different branches of ancient Indian learning.

Jaina Commentaries on Non-Jaina Works

The Jaina scholars wrote numerous and voluminous commentaries not only on their own canonical texts and other works, but also wrote a large number of valuable commentaries on various philosophical and other secular works of non-Jaina authorship. Many such works have reached us only through Jaina commentaries on them and but for their

[2] Haribhadra Suri, *Dharmabindu*, I-31. On the date of Haribhadra, see Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature* II, p. 479. Read also Ghoshal U.N., *History of Indian Political Theories*, pp. 351, 464, Oxford, 1959.

manuscripts preserved in the Jaina Bhandaras they would have been practically lost. The value of these commentaries is obviousin reconstructing the literary history of our country.

Art and Architecture

Jaina monuments of different types have no less value than contemporary architectural remains. In the study of ancient art and architecture and in the evolution of various styles, numerous Jaina monuments and works of art should prove useful.

Iconography

Jaina iconography is an important subject of ancient Indian iconographic art. There is a large number and variety of Jaina icons and there is also very rich material in the Jaina texts on the subject.

Numismatics

A study of coins, seals, dynastic or royal ensigns of some of the ancient kings, ruling dynasties or republican states, in the light of distinctive Jaina religious symbols and mystical signs is likely to prove helpful in numismatic studies and in identifying those rulers as also in determining their religious bias.

Epigraphy

Innumerable Jaina inscriptions found inscribed on the pedestals of images, on *nisadyās, stūpas, māna-stambhas, āyāgapaṭṭas* and metalic *yantras,* in temples, places of pilgrimages, ancient sites and other places and those that exists in the form of donative tablets or copper plate grants are scattered all over the country. Like the Jaina manuscripts, most of the inscriptions are also dated.

Anekantavada in the Light of Some Other Modern Views

GOUR HAZRA

Anekāntavāda is the heart of Jaina philosophy. The very foundation of Jaina system of philosophy is the conception of Reality which is manifold, rather infinite-fold, hence highly complex and pluralistic in character. This is why the Jaina system is also called the philosophy of *anekānta* or the *anekāntavāda.*

The term *anekāntavāda* is made up of three words—*aneka* (many), *anta* (aspects) and *vāda* (ism or theory). It is the name of the ontological nature of Reality, according to which every object possesses indefinite aspects. Reality possesses infinite characters which cannot be known at once. Different people think about different aspects of the same Reality and, therefore, their partial findings are contradictory to one another. Hence, they indulge in debates claiming that each of them was completely true. The Jaina philosophers thought over this conflict and tried to reveal the whole truth by establishing the theory of non-absolutist (*anekāntavāda*) standpoint with its two wings, *nayavāda* and *syādvāda.*

The cardinal principal of the Jaina philosophy is its *anekānta* which emphasizes that 'there is not only diversity but that Real is equally diversified'. It is the most consistent form of realism in Indian philosophy. Although there is an important relation between *anekāntavāda* and *syādvāda,* yet it should be borne in mind that these two are distinct. Similarly, although there is an important relation between *nayavāda* and *syādvāda,* one should not be confused with the other. Infact, *anekāntavāda* is concerned with the thought process and *syādvāda* indicates the manner in which that thought process is given expression to. In the doctrine of *syādvāda,* we find the extension and application of the principle of *nayavāda* to take the definite view of Reality, by means of seven propositions. That is why *syādvāda* is referred to as *saptabhaṅgī-naya. Syādvāda* is complementary to *nayavāda. Navavada* is analytic in character, *syādvāda* is synthetic.

In surveying the field of Indian philosophy from the point of view of the problem of the nature of Reality Dr. Padmarajiah mentions five types of philosophy :

(1) The Philosophy of Being or Identity. It means that all things are permanent, homogenous and universal. Sankara represents this school of thought.

(2) The Philosophy of Becoming (change) or Difference. It means that everything is impermanent, soulless and cause of pain. The Buddhist represents this view.

(3) The Philosophy Subordinating Difference to Identity. It means that the nature of Reality is plurality of the statistically permanent and the dynamically constant. The Samkhya, Bhedabhedavadins and Visistadvaitabadins hold this view.

(4) The Philosophy Subordinating Identity to Difference. The Vaisesika and Davita (Madhva) systems comes under this type.

(5) The Philosophy Co-ordinating Both Identity And Difference. This important step was taken by the Jainas and the result was the theory of *anekāntavāda,* which postulates a theory of manifold methods of analysis (*nayavāda*) and synthesis (*syādvāda*). Jainism meets the extremes and presents a view of Reality which comprehends the various sides of Reality to give a synthetic picture of the whole.

Doctrine of *anekāntavāda* stands in a sharp contrast to the eternal and absolute views of the Advaita Vedantins, the Buddhists and even the Vaisesikas.

To the Vedantins Brahman is considered to transform itself into the universe and to reabsorb the universe into itself. It is called the *Brahmādvaitavāda* or *ekāntavāda*. Later on, Sankara established a theory called *Vivartavāda* which means that an effect is a false or apparent transformation. According to this, the Brahman is the sole Reality and universe is intrinsically unreal (*Māyā*).

As against this view, the Buddhists go to the extent of denying the Reality of all existent entities. According to the Buddhists, there can be no substance devoid of qualities which the Upanisadic seers regard as Real. In short, there can be no permanent Reality underlying change, rather one change is continually determined by another.

Reality, according to Vaisesika is an aggregate of the universal and the particular i.e. identity and difference and not a real synthesis.

Thus the above schools of thought advocate views which conflict with one another. As a reconciliation between the conflicting claims of the above thinkers, the Jainas introduce their celebrated doctrine of *anekāntavāda*.

The Jainas find the views of the Vedantins, the Buddhists or Vaisesikas as one-sided and partial, for each one of them lays emphasis either on the permanent nature of Being or on the changing modes. But according to Jainism, nature of Reality is permanent in-change. The nature of Reality (*sat*, substance, *dravya*) is characterised by trio of origination (*utpāda*), destruction (*vyaya*) and permanence (*dharuvya*) that it is both permanent and impermanent at one and the same time. Again *dravya* possesses some permanent qualities as well as some changing ones. The permanent qualities are the essential qualities of the substance, they are eternal and the changing qualities are the modes of the substance. The permanent qualities of the self for example, are conciousness (*caitanya*), etc. The changing qualities of the self are for example, the different thoughts and ideas. The permanent qualities are called *guṇa* and the changing qualities are called *paryāya*. The Jaina's stand thus is looked upon from the point of view of the qualities which constitute it, or from that of the modes or modifications which constantly occuring in those qualities. This view is a blended form of the completely static view of the Vedantins and the completely dynamic view held by the Buddhists. Jaina philosophy steers clear its way between these extremist views. This gives, in a nutshell, the main metaphysical tenet of *anekānta-vāda*, which the Jainas advocate, regarding the nature of Reality.

Several objections have been raised by the Advaita Vedantins and Ramanuja, against the view of *anekāntavāda*. They object, how the nature of Reality can be considered to be inclusive of attributes both existent and non-existent, which are contradictory to each other?

As an answer to this objection, the Jaina philosophers remark that the Real is simply composed of infinite attributes and what is not so, is also not any existent entity. In experience we get examples of co-existing conflicting attributes. For instance, the branches may be in motion but the tree does not move. The same individual may be father in relation to X and son in relation to Y.

It may be mentioned that this peculiar feature of Jaina logic of *anekāntavāda* has a great similarity to the views of some leading contemporary Western thinkers, who also seem to have been guided by the

principle of relative pluralism and empiricism in ascertaining the nature of Reality as the Jainas.

In this connection it may be mentioned that the Jaina view of Reality comes very close to the views of some Western idealists like Hegel and Bradley, who, too, do not find any contradiction when qualities of opposed nature co-exist in a thing. Hegel says, "Everything contains within itself its opposite. It is impossible to conceive of anything without conceiving anything of its opposite. A cow is a cow, and is at the same time not a cat. A thing is itself only because at the sametime it is not something else. Every thesis for an agrument has its anti-thesis. Truth lies on both sides of every question. The truth is either sided. All nature is a reconciliation of opposites." Bradley observes : "The object possesses this diversity, so far, all together and at once. The qualities thus seem simply joined and are called compatible . . . The object has these qualities. It has them one and now another, according to the conditions."

The only difference between the Jainas and the idealist thinkers lies in this that the view of the former are governed by their ontology of realistic pluralism where as the views of Hegel or Bradley stem out of their monistic idealistic thought.

Bertrand Russel, while discussing the 'Nature of Matter' makes a sharp distinction of physical objects in their private spaces and those that are in public spaces. According to him, in the sphere of epistemology, we are ordinarily concerned with the existence of objects in their private spaces and their true nature as is given to experience, is ascertained in accordance with the different stand-points of the observer although their intrinsic nature "which is what concerns science most be in real space, not the same as anybody's apparent space". As a matter of fact an existent entity in the real space, which is primarily public, transcends a percipients view. What one is ordinarily concerned is whithin therefore, a thing in its private space which varies according to the different points of view or *nayas* the Jaina might say. Russell says, "A circular coin for example though we should always judge it as to be circular, will look oval unless we are straight in front of it . . . In different people's private spaces the same objects seem to have different shapes."

The ordinary percipient beings are concerned only with the sense-data concerning knowledge of physical objects. The relative position

of physical objects more or less correspond to the relative positions of sense data. However, affirmations of percipient being regarding the nature of objects are bound to vary. And this substantiates the Jaina view that no absolute assertion can ever be made about a thing.

Whitehead's fundamental attitude in philosophy is essentially the same as the *anekānta* view of life. Whitehead's theory of co-herence comes nearer to *anekānta* attitude of the Jainas. He elucidates his attitude to Reality by presenting the complete problem of the metaphysics, of substances and of flux as a 'full expression of the union of two notions'. Substance expresses permanence and flux emphasizes impermanence and change. Reality is to be found in the synthesis of the two. He shows that Reality can be best understood by the integral view-point in which the ultimate postulates of permanence and flux are harmoniously blended. This view of Reality is not different from the view held by the advocates of *anekāntavāda*.

The *anekānta* view does imply the principles of reciprocity an interaction among the Reals of the universe, as given by Kant, although this principle is more implied than expressly stated in Jainism. In Kantianism as in Jainism the principle of reciprocity goes beyond the co-existence or the inter-relatedness of the substances and explains the 'dynamical community' among them. But the Jaina is a through-going realist. *Anekāntavāda* is a theory of Reality which asserts the manifoldness and complexity of the Real.

In their *anekāntavāda* the Jaina philosophers of ancient India anticipated in substance the famous theory of relativity formulated by Einstein, the great scientist-cum-philosopher of the modern age. The theory of relativity in several forms is akin to the Jaina view of *anekānta* reality. Einstein explained his theory by such example as : When a man talks to a pretty girl for an hour it seems to him only a minute, but let him it on a hot stove for only a minute and it is longer than an hour.

These and many other such illustrations which we come across in philosophy simply strengthen our faith in the Jaina *anekāntavāda*.

Conclusion : In short, the Jaina doctrine of *anekāntavāda*, arised out of their view of Reality. It is with the help of this powerful instrument, the Jaina philosophers have steered clear of nihilism on the one hand and absolute monism on the other, as well as of shallow realism

of the materialist and the ludicrous stand of the idealists. Indeed, this effort, on the part of the Jainas, to create harmony among the conflicting claims of philosophers, by introducing the doctrine of *anekāntavāda*, is a natural consequence of their attitude towards life aiming to foster world-brotherhood.

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1. Dr. Y. J. Padmarajiah : *A Comparative Study of the Jaina Theories of Reality and Knowledge.*
2. Bhagchandra Jain 'Bhaskar' : *Jainism in Buddhist Literature.*
3. Dr. Jyotiprasad Jain : *Religion and Culture of the Jains.*
4. Satkari Mookerjee : *The Jaina Philosophy of Non-Absolutism.*
5. K. C. Bhattacharya : *The Jaina Theory of Anekāntavāda.*

Udayi

GANESH LALWANI

Udayi was the sole king over sixteen countries. His rule was just and honest. There was no scope of any deviation. So with their undiminished prosperity the people were also happy.

At one time a sense of detachment that awoke him to a new realisation carried away all his ties of love and desire. He understood, in this world whom we called 'ours' were not really bondage in themselves, bondage was the consciousness for the self in terms of its desire.

Hence, he who had no attachment for 'me' or 'mine', for him there was no involvement with illusion in this world. He becomes free. And when one is free to him both gold and clay appear to be the same.

When Udayi reached this stage he handed over his kingdom to a distant relative of his and took the path of renunciation.

Then after traversing a long way he reached where Lord Mahavira was staying with his disciples. He received the protection and was blest by the Lord.

After a long time he bowed to the Lord and said, 'Bhante, I had a desire to visit that kingdom which was once mine. As everybody both rich and poor knew me and I also knew them, it will be easy for me to propagate the tenets of your religion amongst them. They will be benefitted by the tenets.'

Replied the Lord, 'Well, as you think best.'

When the new king heard that Udayi was coming his heart overflowed with joy. He asked his men to be careful so that he might not feel any difficulty any where. And why he would not do that ? That he was the king—it was due to his mercy. If he had thought otherwise he could have given the kingdom to some other person. So when he had become so rich and powerful due to him it became his duty to arrange for his comfort and well-being.

Getting approval of the new king Udayi's friends, relations, former ministers and officers began to prepare for his grand reception. Even the ordinary citizens became eager to have a look of the saint-king.

But some back-biters can be found in every age. It was not otherwise in that ancient epoch also. One of them went to the king and said, 'Why the people are so happy ? What is it's secret ?'

Astounded the king said, 'Don't you know that the saint-king is coming ?'

'The saint-king Udayi ? For that the people are so happy, eh ?' he said in a tone both bitter and aggrieved.

Marking his bitterness and the air of protest, the king became still more astounded. He said, 'It seems that you are unhappy at his coming. What's the reason for such diversion from honour that is worthily entitled by the saint-king ?'

The man remained looking at the king's face for some time. Then he said curtly, 'For me ? Oh, no, nothing. But wait for some time, then your majesty will realise the cause of my concern.'

The king became perturbed at the thought of some unforseen calamity. Becoming grave he said, 'Now you have really made me perturbed. Give out what is in your mind.'

He read clearly the mind of the king. So he slowly said, 'If I give out my mind, then probably you will loathe to look at my face.'

The king became impatient. He said, 'It may be just otherwise Do you know why the saint-king is coming ?'

'Now you are on the right track,' he said, 'Udayi is coming to take back his kingdom. Otherwise, why should he come to this capital leaving the holy company of Mahavira ?'

This made the king think for a while. Then he said, 'No, no, it's not true. I have heard that he is coming to show the true path to the people.'

With what conviction he had to utter this, he could not master. So taking advantage of the weakness of the king he said, 'Then with your information you remain a mere spectator.' Then remaining silent for some time he said, 'Don't you realise that I am your only well-wisher ? These ministers, these lords subordinate to you, these top officials, Udayi's friends and relations are why so busy ? Don't you see this offering of

a big reception, etc . . . all nonsense. Behind all these there is a conspiracy.'

The man again began to look at the king's face. Now there was no more any cause for doubt. The king also believed it as natural. He became impatient. Even angry. He said, 'I will crush this conspiracy before it takes root.' He issued fresh orders. Nobody should give Udayi food or drink nor any resting place. One who would disobey this order would be severely punished.

Now who would dare to give Udayi food, drink or resting place. People desirous of merit follow a monk whenever he moves. But when Udayi entered the capital he was alone on the road. Whichever road he took to move, in an instant became deserted. Seeing him coming people began to shut their doors even on his face.

Udayi failed to understand why it was so. He could not gather food for his hunger nor water for his thirst. But he was not worried for that. Udayı with his beggıng bowl in his hand began to move in the city from one road to another.

Suddenly he came face to face with one acquaintance. He could not by-pass him. So he said hurriedly, 'Many people have come to my house so there is no space for staying. And food ? That you have to procure...' then as he could not decide what to say, looking at a pillar, as if it was his friend, he cried, 'Just I am coming', then quickly vanished behind it.

But Udayi was beyond joy and pain. So his placid mind remained undisturbed. Only he smiled a little.

Udayi continued to move. Thus he crossed the boundary of the city. Mid-day sun was just over his head. It was extremely hot. With the gust of wind burning dust was falling on his eyes, face and body.

At the far end at a great distance near a dillapidated wall he saw burnt-out stalks of barley. There was no shade anywhere in the scorching rays of the sun.

After a little while, Udayi came before a potter's cottage. The door was open and the potter's wife was standing near the door. The calm and radiant face of Udayi touched her heart.

Udayi was in need of food for his hunger, water for his thirst, space for taking rest.

The potter's wife understood by looking at his tired face that he had to travel from a long distance to come to this village. So she asked, 'Are ye coming from the city ?'

'Yes', said Udayi.

Then after a pause she asked again, 'Why didn't you stay there ?'

'Because I couldn't get any shelter.'

'Couldn't get shelter ? Let them all perish. Well, wait a bit. I am coming after asking my husband.'

The potter was busy with his work. When he heard that he had to give shelter to a monk he cried out, 'All these people are swindlers, rouges. There's no need of giving them food and drink. Show him off instantly.'

The potter's wife said, 'No, no, he is not like that. He is . . .'

'Don't plead. I know them all. They are . . .'

The potter's wife was angry. She also began to shout, 'What do you know ? You know only to eat. If ye drive him out then you won't expect to get your food.' Saying this she turned towards the kitchen.

Being thus rebuked the potter was also angry. But he controlled himself, because he knew his wife very well. He understood that if he said anything more she would just throw away all the food. It was now high time for lunch, and he was hungry also. So lowering his voice as much as possible he said, 'You become easily angry. What's his name ?'

'I don't know. Go and ask yourself.' Saying this she entered into the kitchen.

The potter came out and saw Udayi. He understood that he was not an ordinary monk. His wife was right. So bowing from a distance he asked, 'Reverend Sir, What is your name ?'

'My name is Udayi.'

'Udayi ! Our king !' Suddenly he remembered the proclamation of the new king. So he hurriedly entered into the kitchen and said, 'Do ye hear ! He is Udayi. If ye give him shelter, you will be ruined. King's men will take you away. So what to do now ?'

The potter was terrified but could not shut the door on Udayi's face due to his wife's fear. Now he thought that she would also be terrified and would say, 'Do whatever you like.' Then he would go and shut the door on Udayi's face. But there was no sign of his wife being terrified. Instead she said instantly, 'How is that king who does not give shelter even to a monk ?' Then addressing her husband, the potter, she said, 'Hear me please. This house is as yours so also mine. If you do not give him shelter, I will.'

Being terrified the potter said in his dilemma, 'Our house will be in ruins. They will carry you away.'

The potter's wife said, 'All rubbish ! What will be in ruins ? Of this wood-and-bamboo there will be a heap of ash. Let the king take it. He will rub the ash on his body. And what else he will take ? This ass. Let him take it also. Such a king will ride on what else than an ass ? And they will take me away ? Let them. They have to feed me. They will kill me by putting yoke on my neck. Let them kill me. After all every body has to die one day. Let me die earlier. They won't be able to kill me twice. Then why shall I fear.'

Hearing her words, the potter regained his courage. Said he, 'You are saying rightly. Go and call the monk inside. We will serve him with everything in our possession. The king has come, O the king has come !'

The potter's wife called the monk in. She said, 'O monk, we have only a small room of mud and coarse bread. Hope, you will not feel inconvenient.'

But the face of Udayi was as calm as before. He had no inconvenience at any situation. One who is attached feels the pangs of injustice torture, etc. Such pangs do not touch him who after knowing the truth has become non-attached.

Vatarasana Munis and Nirgrantha Dharma

J. C. SIKDAR

Vātaraśanā Munis are mentioned in many places of the *Vedas*, the oldest works of India. It is worthy to give consideration to austerities of *Vātaraśanā* Munis as described in some *ṛcās* of the *Ṛgveda* for their identification with further corroborative evidences of later ages. "*Vātaraśanā* Munis bear dirt by which they look *piṅgalavarṇa* (ochre coloured). When they hold the motion of air by *prāṇopāsanā* (worship by controlling life-breath), they, being illuminated by the glory of their austerity, attain godhood. Having left out all popular usage, they attain *vāyubhāva* (*aśarīrī-dhyānavṛtti*) like mad (with best bliss) by observing silence (*maunavṛtti*) and the common people, see only their external body, not their true internal nature as these *Vātaraśanā* Munis manifest."[1]

Kesi who seems to be the leader of *Vātaraśanā* Munis has been eulogized in the *ṛcā* of the *Ṛgveda* as bearing fire, water and heaven and showing the reality of the universe and invoked as *Jyoti* (Ray of Light).[2]

The meaning of Kesi is *keśadhārī* (one bearing hair) ; its meaning has been given by Sayanacarya as the one, holding *keśasthānīyaraśmi* and the meaning of the sun is derived from it.[3] But no usefulness and adjustment of the above account fit well with *Vātaraśanā* Munis whose austerities are described in that *sūkta*. Kesi may be accepted as the leader of *Vātaraśanā* Munis in whose austerities there is a particular mention of *maladhāraṇa* (bearing of dirt on the body), *maunavṛtti* (observance of silence) and a lunatic condition (of spiritual mind).[4]

Mention of *Vātaraśanā* Sramanas with their leader Rsabha and the account of their austerities support the view that there was the continuance

[1] *munayo vatarasanah pisanga vasate mala vatasyanudhrajim yanti yaddevaso aniksata unmadita maunayena vatan a tasthima vayam sariredasmakam yuyam martaso abhipasyatha*—*Rgveda*, 10. 136. 2-3.

[2] *kesyagnim kesi visam kesi bibharti rodasi kesi visam svandrse kesidam jyotirucyate* —*Rgveda*, 10. 136. 1.
"The verse apparently identifies Kesi with the sun."—Dr. G. C. Pande, *Sramana Tradition, Its History and Contribution to Indian Culture*, p. 23.

[3] *Rgveda*, 10. 136. 1, *kesyagnim . . . . . ucyate*.

[4] It is the behaviour of all Paramahamsas, as this condition is found in them in the attainment of spiritual perfection.

of the sect of *Vātaraśanā* Munis of the Rgvedic age as *Vātaraśanā* Sramanas even in the period of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.[5] And their similar acts of austerities point to one and the same religious community.

A study of further evidences furnished by *Nyāyamañjarī* of Bhatta reveals that *Vātaraśanā* Munis were called Nirgranthas[6] in later age. So it is clearly suggestive that *Vātaraśanā* Munis were somehow connected with Nirgrantha Dharma in the Rgvedic age.

Thus we have reason to believe that the Sramanic tradition was in existence for several thousand years and the early Nirgrantha Dharma and the sect of *Vātaraśanā* Munis were coeval with the Vedic civilization itself or rather they were anterior to it ; since social life is a condition which the evolution of man out of the primitive sub-human life presupposes and without which the evolution of man and the society, the Sramanic tradition or any other tradition could not conceivably have taken place.

Who was Kesi ?

It is stated in the *sūkta* that Kesi was a monk of gods and useful and beneficial friend.[7] Besides, mention of Vrsabha and Kesi together in one *ṛcā* of the *Rgveda* is made in this manner : *kakardave vṛṣabho yuktāsīdavāvacīt sārathirasyakeśī-dudheryuktasya dravatah sahānasa ṛcchanti smā niṣpado mudgalānim.*[8]

According to the verse of the *Nirukta* (*mudgalasya hṛtā gāvah*, etc. N. 23) quoted in the introduction of the *sūkta* in which this *ṛcā* is come across,...... it is explained that the cows of Mudgala Rsi were stolen by thieves. In order to get them back the sage made Vrsabha his own charioteer by whose words only those cows had to fall back from running farther. Sayana, while commenting on the said *ṛcā*, first stated the meaning of *vācya* (substantive) of Vrasbha and Kesi respectively. But again he said by another way : *athavā, asya sārathī sahāyabhūtah keśī prakrstakeso vṛśabhah avāvacīt bhrasamaśabdayat* etc.[9]

[5] *vatarasananam sramananam rsinam* etc, *Bhagavata Puranam*, 5. 3. 20.

[6] *nirgranthakathitavacasah cittattvajnanasamsi cayamanuvado drsyate munayo vatarasana iti—Nyayamanjari*, Kashi Edition, p. 247.
munayo vatarasana iti vata eva rasana vaso granthanam yesam te vatarasana ato vasaso abhavadeva vatastesam rasana ata eva nirgrantha bhanyate—Nyayamanjari granthibhangah, p. 115.

[7] *munirdevasya devasya saukrtyaya sakha hitah—Rgveda*, 10 136. 4.

[8] *Rgveda*, 10. 102. 6.

[9] *Bharatiya Samskrti-men Jainadharma-ka Yogadan*, p. 16.

Having kept in view this meaning of Sayana and the topic of *Nirukta* Dr. H. L. Jain thinks that the meaning of the above verse appears to be this that the speech of Kesi-Vrsabha, *sārathī* of Mudgala Rsi, who was appointed for the destruction of enemies issued forth (broke forth), as a result of which the cows (i. e., *indriyas*=senses) of Mudgala Rsi, which, being yoked, were running with the *durdhara-ratha* (body), stopped and returned towards Maudgalani (*svātmavṛtti* of Mudgala). The purport of this statement is this that the senses of Mudgala Rsi which were *parāṅgmukhī* (extrovert or uncontrolled) became *antarmukhī* (introvert) by hearing the religious instruction of his intelligent leader Kesi-Vrsabha endowed with *yoga* (psychic power). In this way the identity of Kesi and Vrsabha or Rsabha is fully supported by the *Rgveda* itself.[10]

But this interpretation of Dr. H. L. Jain runs to the contrary to the explanation of the afore-said verse given by Dr. T. G. Mainkar as noted below :

He translated the verse *kakardave* etc. as "for crushing the enemy, was yoked the bull, his driver with long hair shouted: Of the irresistable yoked, while running swiftly with the chariot, the dust raised moved towards Mudgalani."[11]

According to Dr. Mainkar "Mudgala has all his cattle stolen and is left with only one strong bull as the hymn describes ; the bull drinking a tank of water, attacking in a dashing manner the opponent and being non-castrated (4)."[12] "Mudgalani, so far a neglected wife, *parityaktā*, of the king Mudgala drove the chariot to which were yoked on one side the strong bull and the other the *drughana*, the wooden dummy or mace."[13] "If Mudgalani was the driver whose skill in driving was responsible for the success, king Mudgala was the warrior with the goad in his hand and fought with a heroic spirit once he had a view of the cows(8)."

"It was indeed the victory of Mudgala, the hero with the goad and so the hymn is asserting the fact twice (5, 9). The wind following the garment of Mudgalani, the dung of the bull flying towards her, and her shouting are all graphic and poetic descriptions in the hymn (2,6). In this way the hymn describes in a cogent manner the wonderful victory

[10] *Bharatiya Samskrti-men Jainadharma-ka Yogdan*, p. 16.
[11] The Hymn of Mudgala Bharmyasva (X. 103)-6. Vide Dr T G. Mainkar, *The Upabrmhana and the Rgveda Interpretation*, *L. D. Series*. 50.
[12] The Hymn of Mudgala Bharmyasva (X. 102), Vide Dr. T. G. Mainkar, *The Upabrmhana and the Rgveda Interpretation, L. D. Series* 50, pp. 27-28.
[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

that Mudgala achieved for the world, many people, or followers of his to see (8)"[14]

When a careful study of the views of Dr. H. L. Jain and Dr. T. S. Mainkar is made on the verse it is difficult to arrive at a conclusion in the light of the Jaina tradition.

The identity of Kesi[15] and Muni with his use of ochre robes and his distinctive condition of ecstasy is quite clear in the Kesi-*sūkta*, along with the account of *Vātaraśanā* Munis.[16]

So it will not be improper to accept the existence of Nirgrantha Dharma in old form in 1500 B.C. on the basis of the existence of *Vātaraśana* Munis with their leader Kesi, as mentioned in the *ṛcās* of the *Rgveda* the date of which is assigned by modern Euro-Indian scholars to 1500 B.C.

The Rise of Nirgrantha Dharma :

Now the first question is whether Kesi, as pointed out by Dr. H. L. Jain, can be identified with Rsabhadeva or not.

The Jaina canonical works throw some light upon the beginning of culture under the leadership of the Jaina mythical first culture-hero, Rsabha in the hoary past. Their historicity and authenticity may be questioned, but they are the living realities for a study of the rise of Nirgrantha Dharma and the infra-structure of Nirgrantha Samgha. At the core of the Jaina canonical works dealing with the life of Rsabha lay a myth. But this is no reason to argue that myths were or are unreal, for a myth is not fiction, false or an illusion. Nor is it a tale or fable. Myths are an important aspect of reality shrouded in the labyrinth of legends and are no less important than the facts of history. Myths are, positively speaking, living entities. In the Jaina traditional society myths have provided examplary models of human behaviour, of ideas and ideals all as a part of a sacred tradition, which has sustained and nourished the Jaina society in which they have flourished. Thus the Jaina myths have

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 28.

[15] *kesyagnim kesi visam kesi bibharti rodasi kesi visvam svandrse kesidam jyotirucyate* —*Rgveda*, 10. 136. 1.

[16] *munayo vatarasanah pisanga vaste malu vatasyanudhrajim yanti yaddevaso aviksata* —*Rgveda* 10. 136. 2.

become facts for the recording of history of Nirgrantha Dharma and Samgha. Of course, it is difficult to extract positive history from the Jaina myths or prove or disprove their historicity or even give approximate dates to the mythical parts of the Jaina canonical works, dealing with Rsabha legend and origin of Nirgrantha Dharma and Samgha.

According to the Jaina tradition there emerged sixty-three *śalākā puruṣas*[17] after the fourteen Kulakaras. Amongst them the culture-hero Rsabha became the first king.[18] He was the son of the fourteenth Kulakara Nabhi and Marudevi who lived at ancient Ayodhya (Vinita).[19]

[17] *Kalpasutra*, 190-200, pp 247-275 ; *Tiloyapannatti*, pt. 1, vv. 510-519, pp. 206-7 ; *Trisasthisalakapurusacaritra*, Hemacandra, 1-10 *parvas*. Among the sixty three *Salaka-Purusas* there are stated to be twenty-four Tirthankaras, twelve Cakravartins, nine Baladevas, nine Narayanas and nine *prati*-Narayanas. Their names are given below :

Twenty-four Tirthankaras .

1. Rsabhadeva	2. Ajita	3. Sambhava
4. Abhinandana	5. Sumati	6. Padmaprabha
7. Suparsva	8. Candraprabha	9. Puspadanta
10. Sitala	11. Sreyamsa	12. Vasupujya
13. Vimala	14. Ananta	15. Dharma
16. Santi	17. Kunthu	18. Araha
19. Malli	20. Munisuvrata	21. Nami
22. Nemi	23. Parsvanatha and	24. Vardhamana or Mahavira

Twelve Cakravartins .

25. Bharata	26. Sagara	27. Maghava
28. Sanatkumara	29. Santi	30. Kunthu
31. Araha	32. Subhauma	33. Padma
34. Harisena	35. Jayasena and	36. Brahmadatta

Nine Balabhadras (*Baladevas*) :

37. Acala	38. Vijaya	39. Bhadra
40. Suprabha	41. Sudarsana	42. Ananda
43. Nandana	44. Padma and	45. Rama

Nine Vasudevas (*Narayanas*) :

46. Triprstha	47. Dviprstha	48. Svayambhu
49. Purusottama	50. Purusasimha	51. Purusapundarika
52. Datta	53. Narayana and	54. Krsna

Nine Prati-Vasudevas (*Prati-Narayanas*) :

55. Asvagriva	56. Taraka	57. Meraka
58. Madhu	59. Nisumbha	60. Bali
61. Prahlada	62. Ravana and	63. Jarasandha

[18] *tubbhe usabham rayanam thaveha*, etc.—*Avasyaka Curni*, 153. 13, 156. 12. Rsabha was the first chosen king in India according to the Jaina tradition.

[19] *Tiloyapannatti*, 1st part, verse 526, p. 208 ; *Avasyaka Niryukti*, 85.

It is stated that one day there occurred sudden death of a dancer named Nilanjana[20] in the court of this first king of the free gens of the primitive people of ancient India, while she was performing dance there before him. Due to this accidental death of the female dancer Rsabha felt very much distressed and developed detachment towards the worldly life and consequently renounced the world after having abdicated the throne of Ayodhya in favour of his eldest son, Bharata and divided his kingdom among his one hundred sons.[21] Thus there emerged Nirgrantha Dharma out of his divine feeling for spiritual values of life and search for truth and reality in the cosmic universe.

Historicity of Rsabhadeva :

It is difficult to prove the historicity of Rsabha and to determine his age in the absence of sufficient historical data furnished by reliable sources—literary and archaeological, of the ancient period, although some scholars have made attempts in this respect to place him on the historical record of the ancient past of India.

In the Jaina *purāṇas*[22] there is found an account of life and asceticism and religious teachings of Rsabhadeva on his attainment of omniscience. The Jainas accept the origin of their religion since his time. The Jaina *purāṇas* ascertain the length of his life by an unit (measure= standard) of *sārgaras*. My revered teacher, Dr. H. L. Jain points out that the life-account of Rsabhadeva is not only found in the Jaina literature, but it is also revealed in the Vedic texts.

An account of his family life and practice of his austerity is given in the first six chapters of the fifth *Skandha* of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. It agrees with the record of the Jaina *purāṇas* on the main points of events of his life. The names of his parents—Nābhi and Marudevī as mentioned in the Jaina texts are found to be there and he has been placed in the fifth generation from Svayambhu Manu, Priyavrata, Agnidhara, Nabhi and Rsabha.[23]

Having conferred kingship on his eldest son Bharata, Rsabha took to asceticism. He began to live as nude and there was only body left to him. Inspite of public censures and abuses and beating by the people

[20] *Tiloyapannatti*, v 610, p 220.
[21] *Avasyaka Curni*, p. 160
[22] See Jinasena, *Mahapurana*, *parva* 41, vv 87-92
[23] *atha ha tamutpattyaivabhivyajyamanabhagavattatksanam . . . . jagradhuh* (1) *tasya ha va ittham varsmana variyasa . . . pita rsabha itidam nama cakara* (2) —*Bhagavata Puranam*, 5th *Skandha*, 4th ch., vv 1-2, p. 556.

he remained quiet. He attained *kaivalya* by observing severe austerities and travelled up to Southern Karnataka. He started roaming about as nude like a mad man in the forest of Kutakacala mountain. Fire broke out there as a result of the rubbing of bamboos against one another and he was burnt to ashes in it.[24]

It is also stated in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* that Arhan king of Komka, Bemka and Kutaka will propagate this religion in the Kaliyuga of his own accord by hearing this conduct of Rsabhadeva from the people of those lands.[25]

According to the view of Dr. H. L. Jain, there does not remain any doubt in the event from this account that the purport of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* points to Rsabhadeva of the Jaina *purāṇa* only and the contention of *Dharma* founded by Arhan king with his (Rsabha's) Nirgrantha Dharma.

It is stated in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* that "Oh Visnudatta Pariksit! the Lord himself (Visnu), being pleased by the great sages in sacrifice, entered into the womb of queen Marudevi, who was sleeping in the inner apartment, for doing good to king Nabhi."[26] In this statement of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* two things are noteworthy for consideration, as there is a very close and important relation with the place of Rsabhadeva in Indian culture and his antiquity and literary traditions. One is this, that there is no difference of opinion between the Hindus and the Jainas in regard to the acceptability and respectability of Rsabhadeva; just as he is the first Tirthankara of the Jainas, likewise he is the incarnate of *sākṣāt* (direct) Lord Visnu of the Hindus. The acceptability of his divine personality as the incarnate of God was much rooted in ancient times that he was counted as one of the twenty eight Yugavataras of Siva in the *Sivamahāpurāṇa*.[27]

[24] *atha samiravegavidhutavenuvikarsanajato gradavanalastadvanamablihanah saha tena dadaha*—*Bhagavata Puranam*, 5th *Skandha*, 6th ch., v. 8.

[25] *yasya kitanucaritamupakarnya konkavenkakutakanamr ajarhannamopasiksya kalava-dharma utkrsyamane bhavitavyenav imohitah svadharmapathamakutobhayamapahaya kupatha . . . sampravartayisyate*—*Bhagavata Puranam*, 5th *Skandha*, *6th* ch., v 9.

[26] *barhisi tasminneva visnudatta bhagavan paramarsibhih prasadito nabheh priyacikar-saya tadavarodhayane marudevyam dharman darsayitukamo vatarasananam srama-nanamrsinamurdhvamanthinam suklaya tanuvavatatara*—*Bhagavata Puranam*, 5.3.20, Gita Press, Gorakhpur, pt. 1. See also *Bharatiya Samskrti-men Jainadharma-ka Yogadan*, p. 12.

[27] *tadapyaham bhavisyami rsabho namatah smrtah*—*Sivamahapurana*, *Baerilly Edition*, 3.3.35, p. 472.

The second thing is this that this incarnation has been regarded as prior to the incarnation of Rama and Krsna in respect of antiquity. The reason of this incarnation as mentioned in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and from the tradition of *Śramaṇa Dharma* can undoubtedly be connected with the *Ṛgveda*, the oldest work of Indian literature.

In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*[28] it is recorded that this incarnation of God has taken place for imparting the teaching for *kaivalya* to the people possessed of *rajaguṇa* (energy).

Dr. H. L. Jain suggests the meaning of *rajasopapluta* as *rajadhāraṇa*= *maladhāraṇa saṁyama*. In the conduct of the Nirgrantha monks the observance of non-bath, non-cleaning of teeth, dirt bearing, etc. has been accepted as the necessary part of *rajadhāraṇa saṁyama*. At the time of the Buddha also *Rajojallika* Sramanas were flourishing. He once said for bringing order into the rules of conduct of the Sramanas : "O Bhiksu ! I do not call *śrāmaṇya* by mere holding *saṁghāṭī* or *saṁghāṭikā* nor call *śrāmaṇya* by mere *acelakatva* (nudity) of *acelaka* (nude), by mere *rajojallikatva* of *Rajojallika* and by mere bearing *jaṭā* (matted hair) of *Jaṭilaka*.[29]

It is stated further that Rsabhadeva of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* moved like a mad man, putting on the garb of nudity. He got initiated from Brahmāvarta land, having held himself the sacrificial fire with dishavelled hair. He used to remain quiet by observing silence even in *avadhūtaveśa* in spite of people's calling him *jaḍa* (non-conscious or fool), blind, dumb, deaf and mad like *piśāca* (goblin).[30] This was the stage of *pūrṇajñānin* in his highest spiritual development as Sri Ramakrsna Paramahamsadeva also realized it in his life. Rsabha looked burdened with his curly, matted, reddish brown hair hanging down on all sides and *avadhūtaveśa* and dirty body as if he had been overtaken by ghost.[31]

According to Dr. H. L. Jain, a detailed commentary of the *Keśī-sūkta* of the *Ṛgvedas* regarding Kesi has been made in the *Purāṇa*. *Vātaraśanā*

[28] *ayamavataro rajasopaplutakaivalyopasikasnarthah*—*Bhagavata Puranam*, 5. 6. 12.

[29] *naham bhikkhave sanghatikasya samghatidharanamattena samannam vadami acelakassa acelakamattena rajojallikasya rajojallika mattena jatilakasyta jatadaharanamattena se-mannam vadami*—*Majjhimanikaya*, 40.

[30] *urvarita-sariramatra-parigraha unmatta iva gaganaparidhanah prakirnakesa atmanyaropitahavaniyo brahmavartat pravavraja* (28)
jadandhamukabadhirapisaconmadakavadavadhutaveso abhibhasyamano api jananam grhitamaunavratasastusnim babhuva (29).....
paragavalambamanakutibajatilakapisakesabhuribharo avadhutamalinanijasarirna grahagrhita ivadrsyata (31)—*Bhagavata Puranam*, 5. 5. 28-31.

[31] *Ibid.*

or *gaganaparidhānavṛtti*, *keśadhāraṇa*, *kapiśavarṇa*, *maladhāraṇa*, *maunavṛtti* and *unmādabhāva* are equally described in both the works.

The words *keśara* (mane), *keśa* (hair) and *jaṭā* (matted hair) denote one and the same meaning—"*saṭā jaṭā keśarayoh*."[32] There is a description in the *Padma Purāṇa*[33] *vātoddhatā jaṭāśatasya rejurākulamurtayah* and Rsabha is called in the Harivamsa Purāṇa[34]—*sa pralambajaṭābhārabhrājiṣṇuh*.

In this way when the account of *Vātaraśanā* Munis and their leader Kesi of the *Rgveda* is compared with that of *Vātaraśanā* Sramana Rsis and Rsabha of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and that of *Vātaraśanā* Munis of the *Nyāyamañjarī*, it appears that they belonged to one and the same Sramanic tradition, although Dr. T. G. Mainkar gives a different interpretation of Kesi-Vrsabha of the *Mudgala-sūkta* of the *Rgveda*.

The name of Kesi continued in the Nirgrantha tradition. At the time of Mahavira the name of the leader of *Parśvāpatyas* was Kesi-kumara.[35] On the basis of the tradition of doctrine and austerity of the aforesaid *Vātaraśanā* Munis as mentioned in the Vedic *ṛcā*, it can be regarded as clearly distinct from the Vedic tradition. The Vedic sages were not such renouncers of the world and ascetics as these *Vātaraśanā* Munis were. The Vedic sages were themselves householders ; they had belief in the rules and regulations regarding the fire sacrifice and they worshipped gods and goddesses, such as, Indra etc. and made offer of worship to them for the gratification of worldly desires, such as, the attainment of property, wealth etc., worldly objects and they (Rsis) accepted the gift of wealth from *Yajmānas* (sacrificers) on these occasions. But contrary to this conduct *Vātaraśanā* monks were not engaged in the said acts, such as sacrifice etc.

Having renounced all possessions, such as, house, wife, son, wealth, property etc. and having given up cloths also, *Vātarāśanā* Nirgrantha Munis lived on alms. They led an ascetic life, bearing dirt without cleansing themselves with bath etc. They observed silence and realized pure spiritual welfare in meditation of soul, being free from the worship of gods and goddesses. In fact, it is the old form of Sramana tradition which emerged in the form of many non-Vedic sects, while advancing forward,

[32] *Bharatiya Samskrti-men Jainadharma-ka Yogadan*, p. 15.
[33] *Padma Purana*, 3. 288.
[34] *Harivamsa Purana*, p. 204.
[35] *Uttaradhyayana Sutra*, 23.

and amongst which two communities—Nirgrantha (Jaina) and Bauddha are flourishing to-day.

There is found mention of Brahmana and Sramana sects in all old Indian literatures—Vedic, Buddhist and Jaina, and inscriptions[36] also. The Nirgrantha (rather Jaina) and Bauddha monks are called Sramanas even at present time. The religious preceptors of the Vedic tradition are called Rsis (sages), whose account is come across again and again in the *Rgveda*. But the designation of the monks of Sramanic tradition was Muni whose mention is found in the *Rgveda* and the *Nyāyamañjarī*, but not elsewhere. The acceptance of both the sects Brahmana and Sramana should be understood by the words "Rsi" and "Muni" respectively. Later on, there took place a mutual intercourse of these two sects and both the words have often been accepted as synonym of each other.[37]

So it will be proper to accept the existence of Nirgrantha Dharma in old form in 1500 B.C. on the basis of the study of the evidences of the *Rgveda*, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and the *Nyāyamañjarī* regarding *Vātaraśanā* Munis and Kesi-Rsabha.

[36] Asokan Rock Edict, Third Girnar Version, 4th R E., G. V.—*brahmana-samananam sadhu.*

[37] *Bharatiya Samskrti-men Jainadharma-ka Yogadan,* p. 18.

Great Women in Jainism

1. *Mothers and Daughters*

It is difficult to exhaust the list of leading women recorded in the literature of the two principal Jaina sects—the Svetambara and the Digambara. Nor is it possible to give detailed accounts of even a few. Again, some of these may not have been real historical persons and seem to be more legendary figures ; it is not possible here to enter into any critical historical discussion about them. But to pious Jaina women, these characters have supplied certain ideals, and as such they have lived through the ages in the forms of hundreds and thousands of Jaina lay women (*śrāvikās*) who followed those ideals, but whose names are not recorded in literature or epigraphs.

Women are highly regarded in Jaina society, and it was prescribed that in emergencies such as floods, fire and robbery, women must be rescued first.[1] From very early times, the Jainas paid the highest possible veneration to the parents of the twenty-four Tirthankaras, especially to their mothers, so much so that stone plaques (*paṭṭas*) showing the twenty-four mothers sitting with the infant Jinas on their laps were dialy worshipped in many a Jaina shrine. They are still worshipped in the Jaina temples at Abu, Girnar, Patan, Osia and other places[2] and even in Jaina rituals of both the sects (such as the consecration ceremony of a Jina image), the mothers of the Tirthankaras receive due worship.[3]

Mahavira, the last Tirthankara (of this age), who lived in the sixth century B.C., was born of the Ksatriya princess Trisala, also known as Priyakarani. Later legends say that he was first conceived in the womb of a Brahmin lady, Devananda, but Indra arranged to transfer the embryo to the Ksatriya lady Trisala, which only shows the antagonism of heterodox Jainism to the ritualistic Brahmanical faith. It is indeed possible that Devananda was the actual mother, married to a Ksatriya prince, Siddhartha, and that she was also known as Trisala, or Priyakarani. It is only a probable explanation of the legend of the transfer of Mahavira's embryo. For in the *Bhagavatī-sūtra* a Jaina canonical text

[1] *Brhat-kalpa-bhasya*, ed Muni Punyavijaya, Bhavanagar, 19338, Vol. IV., 4348 f.
[2] U. P. Shah, 'Vardhamana-Vidya-pata', *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. 9, 1941, p. 48 and pl. 4, figs. 3-4.
[3] Cf. *Vidhiprapa* of Jinaprabha-suri, ed by Jinavijaya, Surat, 1941, p. 105 ; *Pratistha-saroddhara* of Ashadhara, Ch. 3, p. 56

of the Svetambaras,[4] this Brahmin lady Devananda is reported to have once visited one of Mahavira's congregations after the latter's attainment of *kevala-jñāna* (omniscience), when milk began to ooze out of her breasts at the sight of the Jina. Being questioned by his disciple, Mahavira explained that the lady was his mother. Devananda expressed her desire to renounce the world and, with the consent of the Jina, entered into the order of Jaina nuns.

The Jainas at Mathura seem to have accorded special reverence and worship to the mother of Mahavira, and the figure of Aryavati (Pkt. Ayavati), on a Tablet of Homage (*āyāgapata*), assignable to the first century B.C., seems to represent the great lady who gave birth to such an eminent philosopher and monk Mahavira.[5]

Of the earlier mothers, Marudevi, the mother of the first Tirthankara Ṛsabhanatha, is especially known amongst the Jainas. When the news came to Marudevi and Bharata (the son of Rsabha, ruling at Vinita) that Rsabha had obtained *kevala-jñāna* in the city of Purimatala, Marudevi, mounted on an elephant and followed by King Bharata with his royal retinue, went out to meet and worship the Lord sitting in a *samavasaraṇa*, a divine assembly hall constructed by the gods. Seeing the spiritual lustre and splendour of the Tirthankara, Marudevi was absorbed in meditation and immediately obtained herself the *kevala-jñāna* and died. She was the first person to obtain *mokṣa* (liberation) in this decadent age on earth.[6]

Brahmi and Sundari were the two daughters of Rsabhanatha. Rsabhanatha taught the knowledge of eighteen alphabets to Brahmi and arithmetic to Sundari. The ancient script of India, the Brahmi-lipi is said to have derived its name from this daughter of Rsabha, who first received the knowledge of scripts. Now Bahubali, a valiant son of Rsabha, ruling at Podanapura or Taxila, did not acknowledge the

[4] It is the Svetambaras who narrate the transfer legend The Digambaras merely refer to her as Priyakarini. The evidence of the *Bhagavati-sutra*, 9. 6, cited above, is, however, noteworthy.

[5] For a representation of the Aryavati Tablet, see Vincent Smith, *Jaina Stupa and Other Antiquities at Mathura*. For *patas* of the Jaina mothers, see U. P. Shah, *loc. cit.*, p. 48 f. and plates. One of the *tapas* or penances prescribed for the Jainas was in honour of holy mothers and was known as *Matr-tapa*. See *Vidhiprapa*, p. 27.

[6] Sculptures of Marudevi on an elephant, going to meet the Lord, are sometimes found in the front halls of shrines of Rsabhadeva, e.g., at Satrunjaya. For an account of Marudevi, see *Trisastisalaka-purusa-caritra*, I, G. O. Series, Vol. 51, pp. 194 ff.

suzerainty of his elder brother Cakravartin Bharata. The two ultimately entered into a duel, but when victory came to Bahubali, the latter thought of the evanescence of life and worldly pleasures and, renouncing his kingdom, became a monk. In spite of austere practices and deep meditation, he could not obtain final knowledge and emancipation, since his subtle egoism had remained undestroyed. Brahmi and Sundari approached him and cleverly asked him to descend from the back of the elephant thereby suggesting that he should discard or uproot his egoism. This done, Bahubali immediately obtained omniscience.[7]

Mallinatha, the nineteenth Tirthankara, was a princess according to the Svetambara Jaina canons.[8] She was the daughter of Kumbha, the ruler of Mithila (modern Bihar), and was exceedingly beautiful and learned. The fame of her personal charms travelled far and wide and attracted kings of Kosala, Anga, Kasi, Kunala, Kuru and Pancala countries. They all sought her hand in marriage, but Kumbha refused them. Enraged at this, they attacked Mithila and a fierce battle took place. When the battle was in progress and Kumbha was on the verge of defeat, Malli requested her father to invite all the kings to her apartment and expressed her desire to meet them. When they entered her private hall, they were taken aback by the charming figure of Malli, as they thought, standing there, but their illusion was soon removed when the real Malli, more beautiful in appearence, entered the room by another door and told them that what they had first seen was her lifelike golden statue. At the same time, she opened a lid on the statue's head, concealed under a lotus device, and puffs of extremely foul smell issued. The statue was hollow and had been filled with the finest eatables some days ago, which has rotten by then. Giving the analogy of the golden statue, Malli told them that beneath the external charm of her own feminine body lay an equally foul mass of filthy matter of a transitory nature. She further told them that she wanted to renounce worldly pleasures and turn an ascetic. The kings, too, filled with remorse, realized that the way to genuine happiness lay in meditation and the practice of an ascetic life

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 272-326. According to the Digambaras, his capital was at Podanapura, while the Svetambaras place it in Taxila. The Digambara sect does not refer to this mission of Brahmi and Sundari in such early works as the *Maha Purana* of Jinasena. But in the reliefs at Ellora and other sites Brahmi and Sundari are always represented on the two sides of Bahubali performing such rigorous austerities. Also, *Bhasya-gathas* 32-7 on *Avasyaka Niryukti*, verse 349, in *Avasyaka-vrtti* of Haribhadra, p. 153.

[8] An interesting account of her life is given in the *Nayadhammakahao*, Ch. 8. The Digambaras do not believe that women can obtain emancipation, and hence Malli, in the Digambara traditions, is a prince, rather than a princess.

and, leaving their kingdoms to the care of their successors, followed Malli in adopting the ascetic order.

2. *Types of Chastity*

Rajimati : Chastity amongst women and faithfulness on the part of a wife towards her husband, even when the marriage rite has not taken place and she is only a *vāg-dattā* (betrothed), is the highest ideal of Indian womanhood, and Jainism (which had a rigorous ethical code and laid stress on the practice of austerities and penance) made no exceptions. An ideal woman of this type was Rajimati, the wife of the twenty-second Tirthankara, Neminatha, a cousin of Krsna. When his marriage procession was on its way towards the marriage pavilion, Neminatha, the bridegroom, saw a number of animals encaged in a pen situated on the way. Upon inquiry he learnt that they were to be killed for serving the groom's party with meat. Alarmed at the thought of the impending largescale animal slaughter on his account, Neminatha immediately turned his mind away from this world, which involved such sins of killing, and entered the life of a monk. Rajimati followed the footsteps of her husband and joined the ascetic order. Once while Neminatha, his brother Rathanemi and Rajimati were practising penance on the same mountain (Girnar), Rathanemi lost self control and was attracted towards his sister-in-law. But Rajimati boldly resisted and baffled his attempts by telling him that he was preparing to drink from the vomit of another (*Dasavaīkālika-sūtra*, 2. 7-11).

The theme of Rathanemi and Rajimati also forms the subject of a very old and beautiful ballad in the Jaina canonical text *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra* (22), which shows that from very early times she was held as an ideal of chastity.

Kannaki : The most celebrated example of female chastity in the south is provided by the story of Kannaki in the well known Tamil classic *Silappadikaram* (composed in c. second century A.D.).[9] As the goddess of chastity, she is worshipped even today amongst the Tamils and is also adored as Pattini Devi in Ceylon. The highly dramatic narrative in the *Silappadikaram* moves human hearts profoundly even now. Kovalan forgets his sweet and chaste wife Kannaki, being infatuated by the beauty of a courtesan Madhavi, and consequently ruins his own fortune and that of his wife. Filled with remorse and with better

[9] *Silappadikaram*, translated into English by V. R. R. Dikshitar, Oxford University Press, 1939

sense regained, the penitent husband with his forgiving wife leaves Puhar for Madura, where the unfortunate Kovalan is mistaken for the real thief of the precious anklet of the Pandyan queen, and this tragic error leads to the execution of Kovalan at the orders of the Pandyan king of Madura. Under the stress of this final overwhelming sorrow. Kannaki, "the angelic and uncomplaining wife excels herself and towers above the king and queen and petty humanity". Her aguish at the sight of her dead husband is unbearable, and she twists and plucks out her left breast, in the extremity of pain, with her own hand and hurls it across the streets. As a result of this, the accursed city of Madura soon becomes a heap of charred ruins. The lovers, however, are reunited in heaven, and Kannaki is immortalized and worshipped throughout the ages as a goddess of female chastity.

3. *Nuns and Lay Devotees*

Of the contemporaries of Mahavira, Ajja (Arya) Candana, became the first female disciple of Mahavira, and the head of his Jaina order of nuns.[10] Jayanti the sister of king Satanika of Kausambi, who used to attend the discourses of Mahavira and discuss with him theological and metaphysical problems, ultimately discarded her royal comforts and became a devout nun.[11] Mrgavati, a very beautiful queen of this king, is a well-known example of female chastity, political sagacity and heroism. Pradyota, the king of Ujjayini, attacked Kausambi in order to take away this most charming princess of his age. Satanika fell ill and died when the battle was in progress, but Mrgavati, showing admirable political sagacity and foresight, declared that the king was sick, valiantly led her army, drove Pradyota back beyond the frontiers and then gave out the news that the king was dead. But her subjects were tired and were no match for the overwhelming strength of Pradyota's army. Mrgavati

[10] *Avasyaka Curni*, II, pp. 205 ff., 318 ff.; *Avasyaka Niryukti*, p. 520 f ; *Avasyaka-tika*, p. 294 f. When King Sayaniya of Kausambi invaded Campa, Vasumati, the daughter of Dadhivahana fell into the hands of an enemy officer, was captured and brought to Kausambi, where she was sold as a slave-girl to a merchant, whose wife, becoming jealous of her, tortured her and put her into custody. Vasumati once offered food to Mahavira and joined his order as the nun Candana.

[11] *Bhagavati-sutra*, 12.2. It was Jayanti who took Mrgavati to the assembly of Mahavira. The *Bhagavati-sutra* has recorded only one incident of the dialogue between Jayanti and Mahavira, but it is clear that women took active part in such theological or metaphysical discussion, and that Jayanti was one of the learned women of the age amongst the followers of Mahavira. Candana, mentioned above, who was formerly a princess of Campa, must have been a woman of great learning and culture, since she rose to be the head of Mahavira's order of nuns.

changed her tactics and offered to go with Pradyota into his harem if the latter built a strong fortress around Kausambi and installed her young son Udayana on his legitimate throne as an independent ruler. This done, she went to the assembly of Mahavira, where Pradyota also was sitting, and expressed her desire to become a Jaina nun with the consent of Pradyota. Pradyota, too, under the pious influence of the Master, turned his mind to better thoughts and, full of remorse, gave the necessary consent not only to Mrgavati but to some of his own queens also to be initiated into the order of Jaina nuns at the hands of Mahavira.[12]

Jaina literature has recorded the names and accounts of several Jaina nuns and lay women who have contributed to the progress of knowledge and the Jaina faith. They were known for their learning and intelligence. The seven sisters of Sthulabhadra (about 150 years after Mahavira's *nirvāṇa*), Yaksa and others, were known for their feats of memory ; all of them became Jaina nuns. Arya Vajra, who flourished in the early centuries of the Christian era, was given over to a Jaina saint when he was but a boy six years old, and was left to the care of some Jaina nuns who taught him scriptures etc. and trained him in such a way that the boy ultimately turned out a great Jaina Acarya (teacher). But more than any other nun, the contribution of Yakini Mahattara deserves special notice. Haribhadra-suri was a Brahmin scholar, well versed in the *śāstras* (scriptures), who declared that he would accept as *guru* the person who defeated him in argument, and whose speech he could not explain or understand. It was a leader (Mahattara) of Jaina nuns, Yakini by name, who defeated him and converted him to the Jaina faith.[13] The greatness of Yakini can be understood if only one realizes the contribution of the versatile scholiast Haribhadra-suri to Indian literature and the reform initiated by him in the Jaina sect. Haribhadra wrote on ethics, *yoga*, logic and rituals, as also wrote commentaries on older texts, composed story works and reformed the Jaina church by vehemently opposing the monks who adopted *caitya-vāsa* (residence in shrines) or kept money etc. It was not an easy task to defeat such a dialectician in argument and convert him to such an extent that he should take special pride in calling himself *yākinī-mahattarā-sūnu* (son of the great Jaina nun Yakini). She must have a genius and must have contributed a good deal to the training of Haribhadra-suri (died c. 720 A.D.).

[12] *Avasyaka Curni*, pp. 88 ff.

[13] 'Haribhadra-suri-Prabandha' in *Prabandha-kosa* of Rajashekhara, *Singhi Jaina series* : 'Life of Haribhadra-suri' in the *Prabhavaka-caritra* of Prabhacandra, Nirnaya Sagara Press ; also *Singhi Jaina Series*. An earlier account is available in the unpublished *Kahavali* of Bhadreshvara-suri.

It was not uncommon to find nuns of high calibre and great learning among the Jainas. Guna Sadhvi, for instance, who prepared the first copy of that monumental allegorical work of Siddharsi, the *Upamita-bhava-prapañca-kathā*, in A.D. 905, is addressed by Siddharsi himself as the goddess of learning incarnate. In A.D. 1118, in the age of Siddharaja Jayasimha, two nuns, Mahananda-sri Mahattara and Ganini Viramati actively helped Maladhari Hemacandra in the composition of a lengthy commentary on the *Viśeṣāvaśyaka-bhāṣya* of Jinabhadra. In 1350 A.D., Gunasamrddhi Mahattara composed a Prakrit work entitled the *Añjanāsundarī-caritra.*

A woman especially aspires to achieve two things—unblemished love towards her husband and success as a mother of good children. The affection that a mother bears towards her son is best pictured in the story of King Solomon's justice. It is not an easy task for a mother to sacrifice her own son for an ideal, or willingly to allow him to turn away from home and become an ascetic. Meghakumara, the son of Dharini and King Srenika, desired to become a Jaina ascetic, and when in spite of great persuasion he refused to change his resolve, the parents took him to Mahavira, and the mother instructed her son to be true to the ideal of a monk and blessed him in his new walk of life. Greater still was the sacrifice of Pahini, but for whose voluntary sacrifice India would have missed the great scholiast and versatile writer Hemacandra-carya, and the Jaina sect a great Acarya and propagator of the faith.

In the town of Dhandhuka, North Gujarat, there lived a wealthy Jaina merchant, Caciga, whose wife Pahini was especially pious and devoted to the practice of the Jaina religion. To them was born a son, Cangadeva in 1088 A.D. It is said that before the birth of the child, Pahini once dreamt that she had given a wish-giving gem (*cintāmaṇi-ratna*) to her *guru*, Acarya Devacandra. This she narrated to him. When the boy was five years old, Pahini once went with him to Devacandra for paying her respects to the saint. The boy straightway occupied the seat of Devacandra himself, whereupon the monk could foresee what was to happen, and reminding Pahini of her dream, asked her to make a gift of her dear and only son Cangadeva to the Jaina church. Her husband was away, but after some hesitation she rose to the occasion and made the precious gift, fearing that if she awaited the arrival of her husband, he might not consent to it out of paternal attachment. It was a great ordeal for her, for in addition to her inner conflict, she had to tackle her husband, who became wild with rage and tried several means to regain the child, whom Devacandra had wisely removed to Cambay. Ultimately, Caciga also seems to have been persuaded to give his consent

to the initiation of Cangadeva, who later became famous as *Kali-kala-sarvajña* (omniscient in the Iron Age) Acarya Hemacandra.[14]

Of a slightly different nature was the sacrifice of Sridevi, the wife of Vimala, minister to Bhimadeva I of Patan. Like Pahini, the greatness of Sridevi can only be understood if one realizes that every woman aspires to attain the culmination of her married life in being a mother. To forego the fulfilment of this birthright for a cause, is one of the greatest sacrifices that a woman can make, and Sridevi was an eminent lady of this type.

Vimala, a great statesman and warrior, was the descendant of a family well-known for its riches and for the successive ministers it gave to the Calukyan rulers of Anahillavada Patan. He was once appointed governor of the Candravati region, which included in it Mt. Abu. The lovely city of Candravati largely appealed to him and his learned wife Sridevi, both of whom were pious, generous and great patrons of art and culture. Here Vimala met a Jaina monk under whose influence he decided to undertake some religious act for the atonement of his sins as a warrior and statesman. The sage advised him to build Jaina temples at Abu.

Vimala and Sridevi had no issue and felt lonely. Hence he invoked the goddess Ambika to obtain two boons from her—one, a male issue and another, help in the construction of a shrine at Abu which would be the finest work of art. The goddess, pleased with his devotion, appeared in person before him, but said that his merit (*puṇya*) was not so great as to make him worthy of two boons ; so he should select the one that he liked. Vimala decided to give his reply the next day after consulting his wife. Sridevi justly thought that the issue may not be worthy of the father, while the temple would be more lasting and would bring happiness in the life hereafter. Vimala thereupon chose to erect the temple on Mt. Abu, which to this day remains one of the most magnificent examples of fine marble carving. The legend is mixed up with supernatural elements and thereby loses much of its historical value. But it brings out the character of Sridevi, who was a great woman and contributed not a little to the greatness of Vimala.

Such acts of building shrines, tanks, step-wells etc. or getting valuable manuscripts copied, done by pious Jaina women, make a very long list even from known epigraphs and colophons to several works,

[14] Buhler : *Life of Hemacandra*, translated from German by Dr. Manilal Patel, *Singhi Jaina Series*, Bombay.

and speak highly of their cultural activities throughout the course of Indian history. Notable amongst these was Anupamadevi. The accounts of Sridevi and Anupama show the high status and regard accorded to all deserving women by the society of their times.

In the south, Karnataka saw a number of ladies who promoted the cause of the Jaina faith, built temples etc. and performed the vow of *sallekhanā* (death by fasting), which is considered an act of the highest merit. During the reign of the Rastrakuta king Krsna II, a lady, Jakkiyabbe by name, was appointed *nālgāvuṇḍa* (district officer) of Nagarkhanda 70, in her deceased husband's place (c. 911 A.D.). Skilled in the art of good government, and faithful to the Jaina tenets this fair and brave lady protected Nagarkhanda 70, and ultimately thinking that worldly pleasures were insipid, died by *sallekhanā*.[15]

Attimabbe, the wife of Mallappa, who was the commander of the Western Calukya ruler Tailapa (A.D. 973-97), was an ideal devotee who had a thousand copies of Ponna's *Sānti Purāṇa* made at her own expense, besides, one thousand five hundred images of gold and jewels.[16]

Lakkale, the wife of the celeberated Jaina general Ganga Raja, is described in a record as "the lady of policy in business" and "the lady of victory in battle" to her husband Ganga Raja. She erected a new Jaina shrine at Sravana Belgola in c. 1118 A.D.[17] and was a "mine of auspiciousness", so called on account of her numerous gifts of food, shelter, medicine and learning. The saintly figure of Santaladevi, the queen of the Hoysala king Visnuvardhanadeva (c. 1123 A.D.), is eulogized in epigraphic records as an expert in singing, instrumental music and dancing and was also renowned for her beauty. She also delighted in making gifts of the above kind and in the erection of Jaina shrines, which earned for her the titles, "crest jewel of perfect faith" and "rampart of the Jaina faith."[18]

Reprinted from *Great Women of India*.

[15] *Epigraphica Carnatica*, Vol. 7, pp. 130-1.
[16] Rice, *Karnataka Sabdanusasana*, Intro., pp. 28 ff, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1883, pp. 301 ff.
[17] *Epigraphica Carnatica*, Vol. 2, pp. 57-8.
[18] *Epigraphica Carnatica*, Vol. 2, pp. 60, 75 ; Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*, pp. 165 ff.

BOOK REVIEW

VIYAHAPANNATTISUTTAM, Part III, ed. by Pandit Bechardas J. Doshi, Shri Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya, Bombay, 1982. Pages 46 + 1071-1577. Price Rs. 50.00.

The book under review contains from *Sataka* 26 to 41 of the Prakrit text of *Viyāhapaṇṇatti*, popularly known as the *Bhagavati Sūtra*, as edited by Pt. Bechardas J. Doshi. Besides text and introduction it contains 4 Appendices on *gāhās* in alphabetical order, words, proper names and "variants pertaining to the text" for the whole *Sūtra*

PANCASTIKAYASARA by Kundakundacarya, Prakrit Text, Sanskrit version, English Commentary and a historical and a philosophical introductions by A. Chakravarti Nayanar and *Pañcāstikāya Saṅgraha* with *Tattvapradīpikā* by Srimad Amritacandra with a Preface by A. N. Upaydhe, Bharatiya Jnanpith, New Delhi, 1974. Pages 12 + ixvii + 210. Price Rs. 30.00.

In a religion where a creator God is overlooked, the 'reals' must of necessity consist of the visible objects in the universe which exist. This in fact is the meaning of the term *astikāya*, 'things that be' or *Sat*, which are five in number, soul and non-soul, aids to motion and rest, and space, written by a famous Acarya in the Jaina Order who lived in the early years of the Christian era. In a sense a discussion on the *astikāyas* provides the core of Jaina philosophy in most realistic terms, devoid of abstractions. The central piece is the soul which because of the impact of *karma*, is wrapped up in non-soul, having motion and rest from one type of existence to another in the vast continuum of space and time. It is the liberation of the soul from the clutches of karmic matter which is the desideration of Jaina philosophy and Jaina practice. Liberation does not bring about an obliteration to the soul, nor does it go out of space, but ceases to be reborn and is lodged eternally at the crest of space wherefrom there is no descent. Short of practice, the text covers the whole range of Jaina philosophy written by a spiritual leader who is considered by many next only to Mahavira and Gautama.

The English translation of the text and commentary also in English by Chakravarti Nayanar are competent. Apart from a historical introduction on Acarya Kundakunda and also a philosophical introduction, Prof. Chakravarti has added brief notes on Jaina logic, *nayas* or

knowledge from particular standpoint and *saptabhangi* or seven modes of expression, which added to philosophy enhances the readability and value of the latter.

To the above Dr. A. N. Upadhye has added *Pañcāstikāya-Saṅgraha* and its commentary *Tattvapradīpikā* by Srimad Amritacandra. An English rendering of this interpolation would have added to the usefulness of the volume.

JAINA TARKA BHASA by Mahopadhyaya Yasovijaya, containing the text in Sanskrit and English rendering by Dayanand Bhargava, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1973. Pages xx+173. Price Rs. 20.00.

A seventeenth century work in logic by a Jaina logician, the book under review has three chapters as follows : (1) valid knowledge or *pramāṇa*, (2) knowledge from particular standpoint or *naya* and (3) imposition or *nikṣepa*. These are themes common to several schools of Indian philosophy, though there are wide divergences between one school and the other. The main purpose of the author has been, as it appears, to consider and repudiate the non-Jaina view points, particularly those of Bauddhas, the Naiyayikas and the Sankhyas.

Unlike the point made by the translator that the Jainas have long been oblivious to the usefulness of this particular branch of knowledge, in the sense that it was not formalised for long, he has himself cited cases in the early centuries of the Christian era when celebrities had freely indulged into it. But if compared to the goal of a Jaina's spiritual life which was salvation, if logic was given a lesser place, it was because logic was merely a tool of discourse and discussion, rather than an end in itself. But that in no way reduced its value and it appears that in almost every age, important work on logic have made their appearance in the world of Jainism.

Pramāṇa and *nayas* apart, the most important original contribution of the Jainas to logic has been their treatment of *anekānta*, with which closely linked is *saptabhangi* or seven modes of expression. It is this *anekānta* or non-absolutism that helps remove many a dispute and promotes toleration. In the book under review, this aspect of logic does not figure because of its restricted interest. But it may be said that the publication of *Jaina Tarka Bhāṣā* has been an important addition to the available literature on the subject.

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